

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 177220

15

ORIGIN INR-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-13 ISO-00 SAJ-01 NIC-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-15 NEA-10 TRSE-00 MBFR-04 ACDA-19

CU-04 EB-11 /157 R

DRAFTED BY INR/RES/SOV: DGRAVES

9/6/73 EXT. 22551

APPROVED BY INR/RES/FP: BZOOK

EUR/SOV: WLUERS

EUR/RPM: ESTREATOR

EUR/EE: JBAKER

----- 029300

R 062019Z SEP 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 177220

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, UR

SUBJECT: IMPACT OF YAKIR TRIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 177220

REFERENCE: 10498

1. SUMMARY: TRIAL OF YAKIR AND KRASIN IS TRIUMPH FOR KGB AND SUPPRESSION OF ORGANIZED DISSENT, BUT APPEALS TO WORLD OPINION OF SOLZHENITSYN AND SAKHAROV HAVE TRANSFORMED SCENARIO INTO INTERNATIONAL CAUSE CELEBRE POSING INTELLECTUAL FOREIGN OPINION AGAINST SOVIET HOPES FOR SMOOTH DETENTE DIPLOMACY. EXTENT OF FUTURE REGIME ACTIONS AGAINST SOLZHENITSYN AND SAKHAROV NOT YET CLEAR. CSCE AND BILATERAL CONSIDERATIONS ARGUE AGAINST SPEEDY RETALIATION, WHEREAS INTERNAL LOGIC ARGUES FOR STRONG PUBLIC ACTION. INTERNAL DISSENT APPEARS DISORGANIZED FOR THE PRESENT BUT WILL EVENTUALLY REASSERT ITSELF IN RESPONSE TO SOVIET CONDITIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. TRIAL AND CONVICTION OF PETR YAKIR AND VIKTOR KRASIN IN MOSCOW IS CAPSTONE OF LONG AND PERSISTENT EFFORT BY KGB TO EXPOSE AND PUNISH ORGANIZED DISSIDENTS WHO PUBLISHED UNAUTHORIZED "CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS." CHRONICLE HAD GREAT IMPACT ABROAD AND WAS REGARDED AS SEVERE EMBARRASSMENT BY REGIME UNTIL KGB CHOKED IT OFF LAST OCTOBER BY COMBINATION OF ARRESTS AND THREATENED ARRESTS OF HOSTAGES.

YAKIR TRIAL DIFFERED FROM PREVIOUS LANDMARK TRIALS SUCH AS THAT OF SINYAVSKIY-DANIEL, BUKOVSKIY, AND GINZBURG IN THAT DEFENDANTS SUCCUMBED TO PRESSURE AND COOPERATED WITH PROSECUTION. YAKIR HIMSELF PREVIOUSLY DISAVOWED TESTIMONY ON GROUNDS INABILITY TO WITHSTAND POLICE PRESSURE.

3. ORGANIZED DISSIDENT COMMUNITY NOW AT NADIR. KNOWN ACTIVISTS ALWAYS FEW IN NUMBER AND NOW SEVERELY REDUCED BY REGIME PERSECUTION. THIS ATMOSPHERE PLUS FEARS OF TESTIMONY FROM YAKIR TRIAL PUBLICIZED BY REGIME HAS STIMULATED TWO BEST-KNOWN NONCONFORMISTS STILL AT LARGE TO RESORT TO THEIR MOST EFFECTIVE WEAPON -- APPEALS TO WORLD PUBLIC OPINION. ANDREY SAKHAROV AND ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN HAVE MADE UNPRECEDENTEDLY CRITICAL PUBLIC STATEMENTS TO WESTERN NEWSMEN WHICH HAVE DERAILED SOVIET SCENARIO AND EMBROILED SOVIETS IN PUBLIC QUARRELS WITH LEADING LIBERAL FOREIGN OPINION INCLUDING AT LAST COUNT AUSTRIAN PM  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 177220

KREISKY AND FRG SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WITH PROBABLY MORE TO COME. REGIME HAS LAUNCHED SAVAGE CAMPAIGN OF DENUNCIATION OF SAKHAROV BY "HONEST WORKERS," SCIENTISTS, AND ARTISTS WHO DISTORTEDLY ASSERT SAKHAROV IS AN ENEMY OF DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT. REGIME OBVIOUSLY HOPES TO SHIFT BURDEN OF SAKHAROV'S WARNING ABOUT DANGERS OF DETENTE WITH ARMED AND INSULATED SOVIET SOCIETY BY LABELING SAKHAROV AN OPPONENT OF SOVIET DETENTE POLICY. FOR MOST PART,

SIGNATORIES ARE KNOWN CONSERVATIVES BUT THERE ARE SOME SURPRISES SUCH AS VIOLINIST DAVID OISTRAKH. HOLDOUTS ARE STILL IN THE MAJORITY.

4. SOLZHENITSYN APPEARS BITTER AND DETERMINED TO CONFRONT POLICE OVER RIGHT TO RESIDE WITH FAMILY IN MOSCOW. DISSIDENTS PLEASED THAT SOLZHENITSYN NOW DEFENDING OTHERS NOT JUST HIMSELF AS IN PAST. EXTENT OF REGIME ACTIONS AGAINST SOLZHENITSYN AND SAKHAROV NOT YET KNOWN. SOVIETS MAY BUILD CRIMINAL CASES AGAINST BOTH ALTHOUGH SAKHAROV IS MOST LIKELY CANDIDATE, BUT FOREIGN OPINION AND IMMINENT CSCE ARGUE AGAINST IMMEDIATE ACTIONS. ON OTHER HAND, EXTENT OF SOVIET CAMPAIGN MAY FORCE THE PACE AS DOMESTIC OPINION FEEDS ON UNPRECEDENTED OFFICIAL NEWS ON DISSENT.

5. ANOTHER TRADITIONAL SOVIET CONCERN EMERGED CLEARLY FROM YAKIR TRIAL -- POSSIBILITY THAT FREER MOVEMENT OF IDEAS AND PERSONS IN DETENTE PERIOD MAY RESULT IN CONTACTS WITH ANTI-SOVIET ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS EMIGREE GROUPS, NTS, AND FOREIGN BROADCAST SERVICES, AND FOREIGN NEWSMEN. US NEWSMEN AXELBANK, LEDDINGTON, YOUNGER, AND STARR HAVE

ALREADY BEEN NAMED IN SOVIET MEDIA IN THIS CONNECTION ALTHOUGH FURTHER ACTION MAY NOT OCCUR. IZVESTIYA ON SEPTEMBER 4 CHARGED THAT RETENTION OF RL AND RFE GOES AGAINST CURRENT TENOR OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND IS "CONTRARY TO GENERALLY ACCEPTED PRACTICE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW THAT EVERY STATE ENJOYS SOVEREIGN RIGHT IN MATTER OF DISSEMINATING MASS INFORMATION IN ITS TERRITORY." THIS SUGGESTS A RENEWED SOVIET ATTEMPT TO BAN UNACCEPTABLE FOREIGN BROADCASTS THROUGH INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 177220

6. RELATIVELY LENIENT SENTENCES GIVEN YAKIR AND KRASIN OF 3 YEARS CONFINEMENT AND 3 YEARS INTERNAL EXILE REFLECT REGIMES SATISFACTION WITH THEIR PERFORMANCE AT THE TRIAL AND NOT ANY ATTEMPT TO MOLLIFY OR CONCILIATE DISSIDENTS. TIMING OF TRIAL IN "DIPLOMATIC DEAD SEASON" MAY HAVE BEEN SELECTED TO MINIMIZE WORLD REACTION AND LIGHT SENTENCES GIVEN ALSO FOR THIS PURPOSE. DETAILING OF MFA SPOKESMAN KHUDINOV TO BRIEF PUBLIC ON TRIAL MAY HAVE BEEN DESIGNED TO SOFTEN IMPACT ABROAD. BUT OUTCRY BY SAKHAROV AND SOLZHENITSYN HAS TRANSFORMED ORDERLY PROCESS INTO INTERNATIONAL SCANDAL EXACERBATING SOVIET DIFFICULTIES WITH CSCE THIRD BASKET. SOVIET AMERICAN BILATERAL RELATIONS MAY BE COMPLICATED AS CRITICS OF GRANTING MFN AND CREDITS WILL HAVE FRESH AMMUNITION.

7. DESPITE CURRENT REGIME SUCCESS IN STAGING TRIAL AND SMITING KNOWN DISSIDENTS, IT IS CLEAR THAT DISSIDENTS ARE A PRODUCT OF SOVIET SOCIETY ITSELF AND PRESENT CROP WILL EVENTUALLY BE REPLACED BY NEW FACES SEEKING JUSTICE AND REFORM. LONG-TERM EFFECTS OF REGIME INTRANSIGENCE MAY INCLUDE A MOVE BY DISSIDENTS AWAY FROM STANCE OF LOYAL OPPOSITION TOWARD RADICAL OPPOSITION FAMILIAR FROM HISTORY OF LAST CENTURY. REGIME WARNINGS DURING AND AFTER TRIAL AGAINST PERSONAL CONTACTS WITH FOREIGNERS WILL FEED GENERAL SKEPTICISM OVER SOVIET STANCE ON THIRD BASKET OF CSCE.

8. POLADS MAY DRAW ON ABOVE FOR GUIDANCE. RUSH

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 06 SEP 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** boyleja  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973STATE177220  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** DGRAVES  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS RUSH  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t19730951/aaaablbi.tel  
**Line Count:** 183  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** ORIGIN INR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 10498  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** boyleja  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 06 AUG 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <06-Aug-2001 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <21-Sep-2001 by boyleja>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** IMPACT OF YAKIR TRIAL CONFIDENTIAL  
**TAGS:** PINT, UR  
**To:** NATO  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005